lands and slaves? The great stream of enterprize and capital which has heretofore set from the North to the South, giving value to slaves, will be cut off. Should this not result from the aroused conscientiousness of the capitalists, it will from their apprehensions. Who will buy an estate, *the title* to which is generally considered worthless?"

But I dismiss minor points and come at once to the main one. The discussion of the subject of Abolition at the North *and in Congress*, they say, will decrease the value of the slaves, by

"The interest which they themselves will take in the discussion. In spite of all precautions, the slaves will become acquainted with what so deeply interests them: and so far as they do, self-respect will be regenerated —an excellent and profitable sentiment for a *free laborer*, but ruinous *to the slave*. It was the testimony of the planters of Jamaica before the British Parliament that their slaves became acquainted with all that passed in respect to them in the mother country, and were thereby too much excited to fill the places of slaves with slavish obedience."

The knowledge of the slave, that a portion of the whites are exerting themselves for his emancipation, upon the ground that he is illegally held in bondage, will make him, they say, impatient in his servitude. It will make him sullen and moody. It will incite him to indulge dreams of freedom in another land which he can never enjoy in his own. He will be reduced to a condition in which his master cannot rely upon his labor. He will be disposed to run away; and at a time when his services can be least spared. The master will be subjected to constant and heavy expense to recapture him. He will thus become to his owner a source of vexation rather than comfort, of trouble and expense rather than profit. To establish these facts there is copied in the report the following extract of a letter from a man at the South to whose sister a gentleman of New York had sent two Abolition pamphlets: "Do you remember the two books you sent out to my sister by me? My two black boys, William and Jim, who lived better and easier than I did, read them, and in consequence run off, and after eleven days riding, and $267 cost, I got them, and now their place is wretched by their own conduct, as I sold them at a loss of $900 to a trader."—The report then goes on to urge that to increase the desire and disposition of the slave to run away to the greatest possible pitch, it is necessary that the Northern States should adopt such a course of policy as to render his reception impossible after he has escaped there. The effect which such a course of policy would produce, in decreasing the value of slaves is then minutely exemplified. The report then urges upon the Northern States to pass laws, providing such a mode of trial in the case of fugitives from labor, as will enable them to raise the question of the legality of the bondage in which he is held. It is true that the proceedings authorized by the Constitution of the United States, the question of the right of the slave to freedom does not arise. It is true that the master is only required to shew that the slave was held to service in the State from which he fled, without shewing that he was legally held to service—that question could only be tried in the State from which he fled. It is true that the master is only required to produce *prima facie* proof of ownership, without being put to a formal assertion of his rights by a suit at the common law.* But these Abolitionists say that one man cannot be the property of another, and that he can only be held to service or labor *by a contract* freely entered into by him. And they insist that such laws shall be enacted as will enable the courts to pass upon the question of the legality of slavery.—What care they that such a law would be repugnant to the Constitution. They insist that the law of Congress is unconstitutional, and they rely upon the opinion of Chancellor Walworth of New York in the case of Jack *and* Martin, 14 Wendell, and of Chief Justice Hornblower, in the case of Nathan Himesley *vs.* Maywood, as authority. They further urge the passage of such a law by the Northern States, upon the ground that the laws of some of the Southern States permitting slavery are unconstitutional, and that the slave ought to have an opportunity to test them whenever he escapes to the North. They say that "the citizens of Virginia and Maryland have no right by their own Constitutions to hold slaves in their own territory, *much less to recover them from other States*." They, by the following reasoning, undertake to establish this proposition:

"In the Constitution of Virginia there exists a declaration of rights of equal force with that contained in the Constitution of Massachusetts. We give them side by side:

VIRGINIA.	MASSACHUSETTS.
"All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."	"All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness."

"Now the Constitution of Massachusetts, by virtue of the above cited article, was held by its courts to have abolished slavery, and since 1780 it has not existed in that Commonwealth. Hence, if the doctrine of Massachusetts was sound, slavery is at this moment, unconstitutional in Virginia. But an unconstitutional law is no law. When a person is claimed before an upright magistrate, who believes in the Massachusetts doctrine, as a slave of a citizen of Virginia, he must necessarily be released. The claimant can bring no law of Virginia, which will not be set aside by its own supreme law. The citizens of Virginia and Maryland have no right by their own Constitutions to hold slaves in their own territory, much less to recover them from other States. So much for the two principal border States."

I do not doubt that the courts of New York will carry out these views, if the law of that State of the 6th of May last is permitted to remain upon her statute book. Acting under that law, they would be sustained by high judicial authority in doing it. The decision of the district court of the U. S. for Connecticut in the Amistad case, would sustain them in doing what the Constitution and the law of Congress does not authorize, in going behind the fact that the fugitives was held to service in the State from which he fled, and in investigating the legality of the claim to that service. And the decision of the highest judicial tribunals of Massachusetts, would authorize them to pronounce slavery in Virginia unconstitutional and illegal.

The decision in the Amistad case was procured by the Abolitionists. The fact of that case are briefly these: Two Spanish subjects had purchased a large number of slaves in Havana, and under a permit of the authorities of Spain, in which each slave was named, they started with them in the chooner Amistad from that place to another in Cuba. After they were out a few days, the negroes rose upon the white persons on board. The Captain, his *slave* and two seamen were killed. The negroes got possession of the vessel, and compelled two Spaniards who were wounded to navigate her. By altering the steering at night, they contrived to bring her on the coast of the United States, instead of carrying her to Africa, as required by the negroes. She was captured by the brig Washington and carried into New London. The Spanish Minister demanded that the vessel, negroes, &c., should be surrendered to their owners, under our treaty with Spain. That treaty provides, that "all ships and merchandize of what nature soever, which shall be rescued out of the hands of pirates or robbers on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either State, and shall be delivered to the custody of the officers of that port, in order to be taken care of and restored entire to the true proprietor."

The Abolitionists immediately took the case in hand, and all their sympathies were at once excited in favor of these negroes. It is true their hands were reeking with the blood of white men. It is true they stood before the court as murderers and assassins. But they were black and their victims were white. That was enough to excite the sympathy of the Abolitionist.—Subscriptions were gotten up for their defence. An advertisement for this purpose was inserted in a N. York paper, and in these times of pecuniary pressure, $12,000 were subscribed in a few hours! The Abolitionists insisted before the court that these negroes were not legally held in bondage in Cuba, because they had been imported since the prohibition of the slave trade. The Spanish minister insisted that the courts of the U. S. had no right to inquire into the validity of the Spaniard's title to those negroes under the laws of Spain; if they were held there as property that was sufficient for the court; and the validity of their title, under the Spanish laws, could only be tried by Spanish tribunals. But the court decided otherwise; held that they were illegally held as slaves in Cuba; and the judge disgraced himself by falling into the cant of the Abolitionists in his judicial decision, and declaring that "although they might be stained with crime, yet they should not sigh in vain for Africa."

I have shewn that the law of New York of May last, which is discussed in the report of the committee, is just such a law as the Abolitionists desired; and it will also be seen for what purpose they desired that it should be enacted.

But before I proceed further, and while I have the report of the Abolition society in my hands, I will refer to a portion of it which contradicts an assertion which we constantly hear made. We constantly hear it said that the Abolitionists do not desire to incite the slaves to insurrection. In noticing the argument that the efforts of the Abolitionists would encourage insurrection, the report says:

"If a ray of hope penetrates their gloom, though the chink through which it passes be never so small, it will banish all thought of insurrection while it shines. Though while hope of relief from some quarter holds out, the slave will abstain from rebellion, it is not to be expected that they will continue to do so if this hope shall fade away. Once let them come to an understanding of their rights, and the master will be forced to the alternative of giving them, or of suffering them to be taken. Though our business is with the master —though it is for him and his political equals we print and lecture—yet we have now pledged ourselves to prevent, *what it is impossible should be prevented*, the slaves from getting knowledge that we are printing and lecturing. After our operations have, for a fair probationary space, displaced all thoughts of insurrection by a better hope of deliverance, if the masters disappoint that hope, the consequences must be upon their own heads."

The report from which I have been reading was made in the city of New York, in May, 1838. In it the Abolitionists shew that it is a matter of the utmost importance for the success of their plans that the Northern States shall be made a refuge for the fugitive slaves. To make them so, it was necessary that laws should be enacted rendering the recapture of fugitive slaves impossible, and that the Executive of the State should take such a course in reference to fugitives from justice, as would offer impunity to such persons as should encourage and aid their flight. To accomplish these purposes, it was necessary that they should get control of the executive and legislative departments of the Government. Hence, in States where slavery did not exist, we have witnessed, what, until now, was unintelligible, that the sentiments of candidates for even State offices, in regard to Abolition, was made a test in their elections. The condition, bitterness and blindness of party politics has enabled them to get control of the Government of most of the Northern States. The Abolitionists are powerful in numbers, as I have shewn, and they are still more powerful in position. The two great political parties in the country are nearly equally balanced; and the Abolition faction hanging between them is enabled to give the preponderance to whichever party it may join. It was necessary to conciliate Abolitionists to gain power, and being gained, it could only be retained by absolute subserviency to them.

I have thus shewn how it is, that the Abolitionists have got control of the Government of New York, and having control of it, that the public functionaries have implicitly entered up their edicts, though in defiance of the Constitution. Gov. Seward, in furtherance of their plan of warfare upon our rights and property, declares that the person who entices our slaves from us commits no offence; and that if he escape to New York no punishment shall await him. And the Legislature of the State passes a law which makes the recapture of the slave himself impossible. Thus, has the action of the Governor of New York, and of the Legislature of that State, been traced directly to the influence of the Abolitionists.

Mr. Speaker, I designed to point out the most mischevous consequences which would be most likely to result from the course of the Governor of New York; and also to examine, somewhat more in detail than is done in the Report of the Select Committee, the provisions of the law of New York which is discussed in it. But I forbear to do so. I have already extended my remarks to a length which I did not wish; and I have yet a good deal of ground to go over. I earnestly entreat such members of the House as have not read that report, to give it a careful perusal, particularly that part of it which discusses the law of New York of the 6th May last. And I also beg them to read the report which I had the honor of making from the Select Committee of last winter. It is found in the acts of Assembly of 1840, to page 155. In this latter report, the fallacy and dangerous tendency of the course of Governor Seward is discussed.

Important, therefore, as this branch of the subject is, I must content myself with the summary which is made of it in the reports of last winter and this. In the report of last winter it is said:

"The positions of the Governor of New York, when carried to their legitimate results, lead to consequences of a most frightful character, and which, as it seems to your committee, could not have been duly weighed by him. The Governor of New York says, it is no offence to steal a slave, because one man cannot be the property of another, and cannot, therefore, be the subject of theft. If, for these reasons, it be no offence to steal a slave and carry him to New York, it would be none to steal him and carry him to Louisiana. Surely, in such a case, it would make no difference whether the thief steered North or South after committing his robbery. The consequence is, if a citizen of New York were to come into this State, inveigle a cargo of our slaves on board his vessel, under the pretext that he meant to take them to some 'land of liberty,' and should carry them to Louisiana and sell them in the New Orleans market, and should thereafter take refuge in New York, he would be free from arrest, and could not be made to expiate his crime. And without wishing to make any unjustifiable attack upon the citizens of any State of this Union, your committee would be wanting in candor, if they expressed a doubt that such a case, if the course of the Governor of New York should be persevered in, would be of probable and frequent occurrence. There are bad men in every country who will commit offences when they will profit by it, and do it with impunity. But what is still more probable, (if the course of the Governor of New York be acquiesced in,) is, that those deluded enthusiasts at the North, who, in pursuit of something they know not what, are spending thousands and thousands in efforts which they must see, if they be not blinder than any one, except a fanatic, ever yet was, can never accomplish their object, will attempt to make those efforts practically efficient, by coming into our State and making it a labor of *virtue* to *steal* our slaves and convey them to a more galling bondage than they now suffer, in the Northern States.

"Suppose one of those Northern fanatics, who, believing that the shedding of the blood of the wives and children of Southern slaveholders, would be but an acceptable offering in the eyes of God, should come among us, and after inciting our slaves to insurrection, and aiding and abetting them in it, should escape into New York, consistency would compel the Governor of New York to refuse to deliver him up for trial and punishment. He would say one man cannot be the property of another. These negroes, therefore, were held in illegal bondage, and the person who aided them in their effort to throw it off, only performed a meritorious action."

There are other consequences which might be pointed out. Suppose a master should attempt to correct his slave, and the slave should resist, and carry his resistance to violence. Under the doctrine of Governor Seward, he would not be guilty of any offence. If he be not the property of the master, he has no right to correct him, and were he to do it, the common law right of self-defence would justify resistance and violence.

I must again entreat the House to refer to the report of the select committee for the provisions and the character of the law of New York of May last, for I cannot do more here than read the summary of it from that report:

"In its first section it provides 'that the claim to the service of the alleged fugitive' shall be tried by a jury. Take this provision of the law in connection with the doctrine avowed by the Governor of the State, and sanctioned by the State, 'that one man cannot be the property of another,' and what prospect would a master have of getting a verdict in his favor under any circumstances. Can it be believed that a jury could ever be impannelled, upon which the active Abolitionists of New York could not get one man to act upon a principle deliberately avowed by the Executive, and sanctioned by the State? In that contingency, a verdict in favor of the claimant would be impossible. The sixth section makes the finding of the jury conclusive, gives an appeal to the slave as a matter of right, and denies it, under any circumstances, to the master. But if by mere possibility, a verdict should be rendered in favor of the claimant, the seventh section provides a pretext for the rescue of the slave, by declaring that without any unnecessary delay, he shall be removed out of the State '*on the direct route*' to the State from which he fled. The 8th section provides, that if the verdict is in favor of the slave, that he shall never thereafter be molested; and that if any person shall remove him out of the State, '*under any process or proceeding whatever*,' he shall be deemed guilty of kidnapping, and upon conviction, shall be imprisoned in the State prison for a term not exceeding ten years. This provision is obviously designed to deter the master from applying to the Federal Judiciary, and punish him if he take the slave out of the State, even by virtue of its process. The 9th section secures the slave every advantage of legal defence at the cost of the State; the 10th makes the claimant liable for the costs of the trial, should he be unsuccessful, as he could not but be; and the 11th makes him responsible for a large portion of them in any event. The 12th requires the complainant, before he commences his proceedings, to give bond in the penalty of one thousand dollars, with two securities, "inhabitants and freeholders of the State, conditioned to pay all costs and expenses, to pay two dollars a week for the keeping of the slave during the proceedings; and in the event that the verdict of the jury is against the claiment, he shall pay all costs and expenses, the fugitive's as well as his own, and in addition pay the fugitive one hundred dollars and all damages, which he may sustain! Which damages might be assessed by a jury, composed of Abolitionists. The 15th ensures interminable delays, by authorizing the slaves at any time to take out commissions to examine witnesses in other States; while the same privilege is denied to the master. The 16th section is designed to annul that clause of the act of Congress, which authorizes any State magistrate to issue a warrant for removing a fugitive slave to the State from which he fled. The 18th punishes with a heavy fine and imprisonment in the penitentiary, any person who shall attempt to remove a slave from New York by any such warrant; and inflicts like penalties on any one who shall exercise his right of recapturing his slave wherever found; or seize him under the law of Congress."

The provisions of this law speaks for itself: but to shew the hostile feeling in which it was adopted, I refer to the circumstances attending its passage:

"After the proceedings of the General Assembly of Virginia were communicated to the legislature of New York, Mr. Mann, a distinguished member of the House of Assembly of that State, introduced the following resolution, viz:

"'*Resolved*, That the legislature has seen with deep regret, and decidedly disapproves and condemns the efforts of many misguided individuals in the Northern States to interfere without right, and in violation of the principles on which the Constitution of the United States was established, with the domestic institutions of the South; thereby disturbing the domestic peace of the States, weakening the bonds of our Union, and sowing the seeds of its dissolution.'

"Another member having the floor, made a violent speech against the resolution; and, to cut off reply, demanded the previous question, which was sustained by his party. Under this gag, the resolution was voted down by 40 yeas, to 57 nays; but the Abolition majority did not stop here. Subsequently, they introduced and passed the law which I am discussing. This act was originally introduced into the House of Representatives. Mr. Roosevelt moved to amend it, so as to provide 'that so far as respects the penalty of imprisonment in the State prison, it shall not be construed to extend to any claimant of a fugitive slave who shall have obtained the certificate of a Judge or other officer, authorizing the removal of such slave, pursuant to the act of the Congress of the United States, in such cases made and provided.' This amendment was adopted by a vote of 47 to 37.

"The bill then went to the Senate. The section exempting Southern men from ten years confinement in the penitentiary, for proceeding, according to the act of Congress, to recapture their runaway slaves, did not suit the spirit of Abolition. So the Senate struck out the provision added upon Mr. Roosevelt's motion in the House; and more effectually to enforce what that section was designed to prevent, there were added the 16th and 17th sections of the bill. For the character of these sections, I refer to the report of the special committee."

Thus amended, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 15 to 4; and was concurred in by the House, by a vote of 42 to 31.

(Speech to be continued.)

* Story on the Constitution, vol. 3, p. 676.

MR. GRANGER AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The editor of "The Friend of Man," who was recently in Ontario, writes that Mr. Granger's Abolition friends in that county are assured that Gen Harrison in his Richmond speech, either misunderstood or misrepresented Mr. Granger's views in relation to abolitionism.

The political friends of Mr. Granger in the Abolition portions of the State, who went on to the inauguration, return with a similar relation of the matter, derived of of course, from Mr. Granger himself.

When anti-masonry was rising in the western counties, and National Republicanism was predominant in the western counties of this state, Mr. Granger, desiring to stand well with both interests, wrote a letter to the anti-masonic and also to the National Republican Convention: And it was in reference to his coquetting with these two parties, that Gen. Root told Mr. Granger that he was "*in a state of a* BETWEENITY."

Mr. Granger at this time is evidently "in a state of *'betweenity'*" in regard to the slaveholding Whigs of the South, and the Abolition Whigs of the North.—He stands with one foot on either side of Mason's and Dixon's line, and with what the "*native Americans*" would call a forked tongue, he holds one language to the South and a different language to the men of the North. His face, viewed in its southern and its northern aspect, is as dissimilar as *black* and *white*.—*Albany Argus.*

MORE HEADS OFF!

The names of the late incumbents are not stated, but doubt removed for opinion's sake—and yet there is no proscription!

(From the National Intelligencer.)

OFFICIAL.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT.

Jacob De La Motta, to be Receiver of Public Money at Charleston, in the State of South Carolina.

Return J. Meigs, to be Attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee.

Asher Robbins, to be Postmaster at Newport, in the State of Rhode Island.

WASHINGTON, March 29.—We learn that President Harrison was taken very ill on Saturday after dinner. His physician remained with him during the whole night, and yesterday he was extensively cupped. He is now considerably better.—*Globe.*

CONVICTION OF ROBINSON.—The jury in the case of Peter Robinson, indicted at New Brunswick, N. J., for the murder of Suydam, on Wednesday evening returned a verdict of guilty against the prisoner. The sentence was pronounced the next day by Chief Justice Hornblower, who accompanied it by an address to the criminal on the enormity of his offence, and the necessity of preparing for the execution of the penalties of the law. He was then condemned to be hung by the neck until he was dead, between the hours of ten and two o'clock, on Friday, the 16th of April.

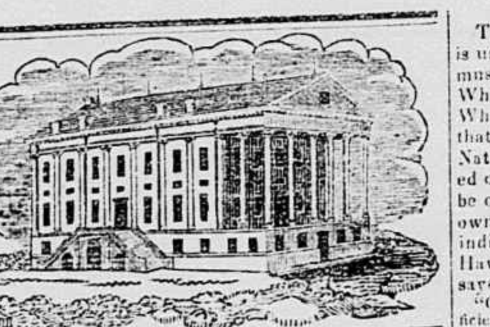
The prisoner received the sentence of the judge, the manner and language of which brought tears to the eyes of many of those who were in attendance upon the proceedings of the Court, with the greatest composure and indifference. Indeed, during the whole trial he manifested a perfect unconcern, in relation to the event, as though he were the person the least interested in it. When passing from the court room, he observed in a jocose way to the sheriff, that "as he was a carpenter, the sheriff, ought to hire him to make the gallows," and again, that "since he would be the most prominent actor on the occasion of the hanging, the sheriff should divide the fees with him." He confessed to one of his counsel, before the trial, all the particulars of the murder. It appears that when he struck Suydam on the head, with the axe, the blow was not fatal, but that Suydam, who was conveyed to the cellar, lingered for one or two days in great agony, crying out constantly to the murderer to spare his life.—*N. Y. Post.*

FROM ALBANY.—The Argus has a letter, dated Lockport, March 22d, which says that McLeod was arraigned, and pleaded not guilty to the indictment against him. His counsel, Messrs. Gardner and Bradley, then moved the court for two commissions to issue—one for the examination of Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, and Mr. Fox, the British Minister, at Washington—the other to examine McNab and others in Upper Canada. This was granted, with the condition that the people might join in the commission.

"An application was then made to the circuit judge to allow a certiorari to remove the cause from the oyer and terminer to the Supreme Court, on an affidavit setting forth some of the circumstances of the offence charged to have been committed, and that difficult and complicated questions of law would arise on the trial. The counsel urged that at the oyer and terminer the presiding judge might be overruled by the county judges, and that it was proper in this case for that reason, that this cause should be tried in the circuit court rather than in the oyer and terminer. The circuit judge declined allowing the certiorari upon that ground, as there was allegation of improper bias on the part of the county judges, and our statute has provided the means of correcting any *error* in the proceedings of the oyer and terminer by a bill of exceptions.

"The counsel asked for time to add an affidavit in relation to the excitement which had existed in the country upon the subject, and the reason why it was believed a fair trial could not be had. This was granted, and the court adjourned over to the afternoon, to give an opportunity to serve the writ if allowed.

"During the intermission the affidavits were prepared, the certiorari allowed, and served on the court on their going in, in the afternoon. This gives McLeod's counsel an opportunity to move the Supreme Court to change he venue to some other county."



RICHMOND, FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1841.

THE PROTEST—*Again!*

We have been unfortunate enough to gall the withers of the author of the Protest (in the House of Delegates:) but we now make him the only *amende honorable* in our power, by laying his strictures before the public. We will not quarrel with Mr. W. Robertson about styles. There is no disputing, they say, about tastes; though we might fairly plead before any critics in the world to the jurisdiction of the author of the *Protest*. But we do not mean to travel beyond that paper, which is certainly more *curious* than *felicitous* in its composition.—With a few brief notes, appended to the following communication, we dismiss the subject:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENQUIRER.

"SIR—The comments you have thought proper to make on the style, and the force of the "Protest" of myself and others, against the late Inspection Law, (as you term it,) I am quite willing should pass for what they are worth. As to what may be thought of that paper, in point of composition, I am not very solicitous; but most critics, I am of opinion, will not think any the worse of it, in that respect, that its style is not very studiously copied after that of the Enquirer, "however matured by age, or modelled by experience." As regards the force of the arguments advanced in it, it ought to have occurred to you, that there are obvious reasons why the objections to the law in question should not be too strongly stated, as well as why yet stronger objections than any urged against it were not even hinted at. (1) These points, however, would not, of themselves, have challenged notice from me: neither would the manifest inconsistency you involve yourself in, when, after stating, that those who signed the protest, desired that the General Government should be appealed to, and New York again appealed to, you, in the same breath, impute to them the disposition to "do nothing:" (2) Nor yet the strange, heterodox proposition, affirmed by you, that "the law of Congress, about the surrender of fugitives, [has] been nullified by an act of New York," involving the broad admission *that a State may nullify an act of Congress made strictly in pursuance of the Constitution*—Thus outnullifying even nullification itself. (3) Inviting as these themes are, and fruitful of comment, I yet forbear: content merely to have pointed public attention to them.

"But when you go on to say "of the Protest," "It is a document which (to use its own confused language) leaves us sufficient reason to doubt if it were not taken under the influence of considerations not calculated to command for it the full weight of a deliberate and unbiassed judgment on the question submitted to (their) decision," you convey an insinuation against those who signed that paper which it is proper should be repelled; and repelled, in justice, through the same channel that gave it publicity. [By-the-bye, the Protest speaks of "the course" of Governor Seward as having been "taken under influences," &c. "A document taken under influences," &c., is one of those instances of *curiosa felicitas*" so peculiarly your own, and which, while I could not hope, I certainly should never aspire, to rival.] In applying to Governor Seward the language you have quoted from the Protest, I certainly did intend to intimate a belief that he had allowed considerations to enter into his course towards Virginia at once improper and reprehensible. In adopting and applying that language to those who signed that paper, you doubtless design to cast similar imputations, and it would seem, to surmise vaguely that it was concocted by joint counsels to subserve some covert, if not sinister purpose. (4) Lest such impressions should be made, it is due to the gentlemen who united with me in that Protest, to say, that it was prepared entirely by myself—and was not, either as to form or substance, the subject of conference with them, except that almost at the moment of submitting it, it was shown to a few friends who sat near me in the House, and who alone signed it before it was presented. It was signed by the others, by leave of the House, through the day, as opportunity offered to examine it. The public may judge, then, how far these gentlemen were implicated in a plot, or were likely to be influenced by any other considerations than a concurrence in the views presented by it on a question of great public interest. For myself, about to withdraw from public life, I might have hoped to have been spared this *fling* at the "considerations" which influenced me, did I not know that, in the pursuit of party objects, neither the motives nor the feelings of those who stand at all in the way of the attainment of them, are likely to be much regarded. But I may be permitted, in closing my humble career, against the imputation of having been influenced by improper considerations, to place my solemn asseveration, that the act in question was dictated by no motive, of which I am conscious, whatever, except a sense of public duty, and an earnest desire to the extent of my ability, to aid in warding off the evils which, in my opinion, an unwise and ill-considered measure was calculated to draw down upon this State and this Country.

WYNDHAM ROBERTSON."

(1.) It might "have occurred" to Mr. R. and others, that there were obvious reasons why no objections should have been pompously paraded in the form of a Protest at all. The bill had been opposed on the floor of the House—argued against—voted against—and some of those speeches had gone forth to the world. We had supposed, that its enemies might have been content with this species of opposition: without taking any other step after the passage of the law, to weaken its moral effect upon the State of New York. It seems to us, that after such a law had been passed by a decided majority of both Houses; gentlemen, too, of both parties concurring in its adoption, under the influence of the strongest convictions; the minority might then have acquiesced in the decision. But no! The course of the opposition since is only calculated to weaken the force of this appeal upon the Governor and people of New York. They have publicly protested against it. They have manifested their desire to expunge it from the statute book—and the Richmond Whig has avowed its belief that the Protest will contribute to produce next winter, the repeal of the law. This is a pretty broad "hint" to the people of New York.

(2.) We prefer speaking for ourselves. What we said in that article was this:

"They would appeal to New York without doing any thing ourselves, or redeeming one pledge which the Legislature of '39—'40 solemnly gave in the name of the State. They would also appeal to Congress for assistance, in relation to fugitive felons, as if the law of Congress about the surrender of fugitive slaves had not been nullified by an act of New York."

Now, whether this going, cap in hand, to the present Governor, or the present Legislature, and suing for justice, or whether this appeal to Congress, be "doing nothing at this time" for ourselves, or worse than nothing, is respectfully submitted to the people.

(3.) We would treat the author of the Protest with all respect. We will not say, that he has been guilty of misrepresentation—but he has fallen into some unaccountable mistake about our meaning. We have quoted our own words above. When we say, that "the law of Congress about the surrender of fugitive *slaves* has been nullified by an act of New York," (and therefore we argue that they might in the same manner defeat an act about "fugitive felons,") how was it possible for Mr. R. to suppose, that we admitted the right of a State to *nullify* a constitutional act of Congress? He confounds the *fact* with the *right*. He will scarcely deny, that N. York *has* defeated by her act of May, 1840, the act of Congress about fugitive slaves. We do not say it was right. On the contrary, we have always contended that it was wrong—a wrong against the law of Congress as well as the Constitution. As N. York had been mad enough to do *that*, we contended that *she* would in like manner pass a law to counteract and nullify any law, which Congress might pass in relation to the surrender of fugitive felons. Did we therefore justify the law of N. York? Did we thus attempt to "outnullify nullification itself?" Mr. R. may hug himself in the discovery he has made of a new meaning in our words: and he had better take out a new patent for his act of construction—but we suspect no other person will profit by his patent.

(4.) It is "due" to ourselves to remove the impression which Mr. R. has taken up. We meant to convey no such imputation in regard to him, as he says he meant to convey towards the Governor of New York. What he meant to convey—what "improper and reprehensible considerations" he intended to attribute to the Governor of New York, is one thing—What we meant to convey to the Protestors, is another thing. What "reprehensible" considerations they meant to ascribe to him, we know not. They are not set forth in the record. We meant nothing more than that this Document had not been fully and deliberately weighed, and that the judgment of its authors might have been biassed by certain extrinsic considerations, connected with the source from which the bill proceeded, or from the party that principally supported it, &c., &c. It does appear to us, somewhat strange, that Mr. R. should make his "fling" at others, whilst he claims a perfect exemption from all extrinsic motives for himself. Other persons, he says, pursue party objects—Other persons do not much regard either the motives or the feelings of those who stand in the way of *their* party objects—whilst Mr. R. would resent any such *fling* at *himself or his friends*.—But we have no disposition to retort. We would rather smooth the way to his retirement, than now irritate the wound. We meant nothing more than to say, as he has said, that this Protest was an "unwise, ill-considered measure." It might have been biassed even by considerations of which he was not "conscious."—We are as willing as most men to admit him his public spirit, and to allow that he has been actuated by "a sense of public duty." Mr. R. is a Whig, and we differ with him in politics: but we have no disposition to do him injustice.—In a word, we might appeal to the public, whether in the course of the late session, we have shewn any unfriendly or disrespectful feelings towards "Wyndham Robertson."

THE EXTRA SESSION.

The most prominent purpose of the Called Session is unmasked. There can be no mistake about it. We must have a National Bank, by all means; and the Whig presses begin to confess the "soft impeachment." What says the New York American? It contends, that we must have a Currency, with "the odor of Nationality." It pronounces a *Treasury Bank*, founded on the revenues and resources of the Government to be out of the question; and, declares a *National Bank*, owned by the Government in part, and the residue by individual stockholders, to be a panacea for all our ills. Having repudiated the idea of a Treasury Bank, it says:

"Come, then, the second plan of a National Bank, with a sufficient capital to regulate the exchanges of the country and the issues of the State Banks—and so restricted, as to prevent, if possible, its becoming a speculative stock."

A pretty Money-King indeed! and a pretty power it gives him!—The N. Y. Courier, (J. Watson Webb,) sweeps off the Sub-Treasury first, and then comes the substitute, which it professes to say, "the people have already determined, shall be a National Bank. Of the ability of the party to pass a law organizing a National Bank, we do not entertain a doubt." Now, then, comes his scheme of a National Institution, that is to be constituted, according to his own Machiavelian principles:

"To obviate, as far as possible, all difficulties, and to give to each and all the States a direct interest in the creation of a National Bank, prudence and wisdom alike demand, that it should be an act of *compromise*. Thus the new States being most in debt, are most sensible of the necessity of such an institution, and directly interested in its prompt creation. Some of the old States again, have doubts, or at least have heretofore entertained doubts of the constitutionality of a Bank, although generally, these doubts have long since vanished. The new States would be pleased to see the public lands lying within their boundaries, conveyed to them in fee simple; while the old States, without an exception, claim that the public domain is the property of the respective States, and should never be surrendered to the States in which it lies. Here then, are opposing interests, all of which may be, and should be united in the creation of a National Bank. The Stock of such an Institution could only be filled by the interposition of the Government credit; and this credit should be extended to the States taking an interest in the Bank, predicated upon a solemn pledge of the public lands for the repayment of such guaranty. Thus the subscriptions might be made in State Stocks guaranteed by the United States and the Government lands, forever pledged by the same act, to the redemption of State Stocks thus subscribed."

A fine kettle of fish have we here, equal at least to the witches' cauldron.—Here a *distribution*, *a public debt*, a public scrip, and a National Bank, and the Assumption of State Securities, are all commingled together!

What says the National Gazette of Philadelphia? It comes out with a grand "*project, of the People's Bank of the United States!—capital one hundred millions of dollars!*" to operate *for* 60 *years* when it shall have reimbursed its capital; and then with a capital of 500 millions, it is to operate "in all after time." And this stuff is seriously proposed to the adoption of a free people.

And what says the New Yorker? Among several things to be done at the Extra Session, is a plan for establishing or restoring a system of National Finance, in place of the Independent Treasury—its own favorite resource for which, is a National Bank, that it says, "nine-tenths of the friends of the new Administration ardently believe to be the proper remedy for the existing disorders," &c., &c.

Such, then, is the project of the Whig Administration. But, people of Virginia, what say ye to all this?—Will you send members to Washington to fasten the monster round your necks? But we are happy to see that there are enlightened economists in the North who fight the monster nobly. The money article of the last New York Herald says:

"These propositions of bolstering the States, high Tariff, National Bank, National Debt, &c., originate entirely with the stock-jobbing and bank interest. One set of commission brokers want to make the Bank of Commerce a 'red back' concern, the National Bank under the new Administration, and the whole influence of the party will be put into operation at the extra session to produce that result. If they can get the Sub-Treasury law repealed, the Government must immediately have a substitute as a fiscal agent. That agent they hope to become, as a prelude to their acknowledgment as the National Bank. That concern is now losing money, that is, dividends have been paid out of the capital in order to give it a false reputation, with a view to becoming the U. S. Bank." [The Herald then gives an ugly account of this *Bank of Commerce*, the Bank proposed by some for National purposes—and it is awful enough!]

The N. York Sun concludes a long article, "Watchman, what of the night," with the following warning exhortations:

"Therefore to the question 'what of the night?' we answer from our watch-tower, that although darkness continues, there are many favorable indications of the approaching morning. Only one threatening cloud appears in the distance from which may Heaven preserve us. It contains the germ of another National Bank—a third incubus to draw its sustenance from the life-blood of the land, and then, like its predecessors, to scatter ruin in its path. Let trade be unmolested by this monster or any of its blood-stained brood—let actual capitalists become our practical bankers—let those who find that they are now engaged in the business of exchanging the products of labor, or in other necessary callings, engage in the business of production—leave industry and trade free and unshackled—compel all individuals and all institutions honestly to perform their engagements or suffer the penalties of violated law—and depend upon it, the night will soon vanish: a brilliant morning and a glorious day will succeed."

THE INAUGURAL.—*And the National Intelligencer.*

The "Official" organ has been pleased to devote more than three columns to the Inaugural Address, flying at its mast head—"The Enquirer." We beg leave to say a few words, by way of replication, to its long tirade—not meaning to touch every allusion, or to refute every position which it takes. The most of its matter may be compressed into a nutshell.

The burden of its song is the late Address of the Democratic Members of the General Assembly to the People of Virginia. The critic indulges in so many hints and inuendoes about its composition, the school from which it emanates, &c., &c., that we may be excused for saying, at once, that it is the exclusive production of a member of the Legislature, whose modesty is equal to his merit; but who is destined, (if we can read his stars rightly,) to attain a high distinction in the public Councils. The Intelligencer does us too much honor in ascribing it to "the Enquirer school of politicians." The author and his friends have drawn their principles from a higher source than that of a mere "clique" of politicians. The doctrines which they teach are those of Virginia; and the school in which they acquired them was the illustrious school of '98 and '99, when Jefferson and Madison officiated at the fountain. The "Official" organ, true to the patrons whom it now serves, may please to stigmatize their principles as "antiquated prejudices and doting superstitions, which it is high time should give way to the *more enlarged and expanded notions of government which belong to the spirit of the age*." We presume it means the age of Webster and Harrison, of Badger and of Granger. We must abandon, forsooth, the Resolutions and Report of '98—'99, for the false idols of the Whig party. Instead of the "strict construction of the Constitution," we must adopt "*more enlarged and expanded notions of Government*." We must establish a National Bank, whilst the solemn warnings of Jefferson are ringing in our ears. We must, in a word, sacrifice to the Bank and latitudinous "spirit of the age," all the vaunted principles of our Republican forefathers, as so many "antiquated prejudices and doting superstitions." But let the Intelligencer and its masters be assured, that whatever be their sneers and sarcasms, their new lights or their old Federal lights, the Virginia School of politicians will be the last to abandon the tenets of their fathers. She aspires now, as she did in 1800, to become the standard-bearer of the Republic—and as victory crowned her efforts *then*, she will strive again to restore the reign of the true constitution.

If to rely upon such high principles as these be to "revive the exploded topics of the late political canvass," rely upon it, that Virginia will never cease to revive them, until they are re-established in the Union. But though beaten in the late canvass, by what the Intelligencer as falsely as vauntingly denominates "the largest majority ever given in a contested election since the Creation," what is there in that circumstance to propitiate our support or reconcile us to our defeat?—Had we been fairly beaten in the open field—had Harrison and his champions boldly displayed their flag and avowed their principles—had they resorted to fair and honorable means for their success—they might have had some claim to our forbearance—But when was a more disgraceful victory achieved "since the Creation?" When was more mystery practised; more concealment affected—more hollow professions made—more miserable humbugs employed to deceive an honest people—more fraud exhibited, from Webster on the Portico of our Capitol, down to Ogle with his gold spoons—more false votes purchased, and more corruption exerted?—Was it to be expected, that the vanquished party should tamely submit to such an insolent victor? Was it to be believed, that his first movements would not be anxiously wretched? Was it to be supposed, that a Cabinet, which, the Intelligencer truly says, "may challenge a comparison with their predecessors in any Administration" (for the extravagance of their Federal doctrines)—that an Inaugural, which deals in generalities, at the very moment when we require specifications —that the call of an Extra Session to carry out their most obnoxious measures—that the proscription of men in office, without the slightest mercy, and with the deepest contempt of their own professions, should not alarm the suspicions, and arouse the opposition of the Republican Party? The Intelligencer may call these remarks "party gabble," and indulge its "commiseration for the weakness of the cause" which employs them—But so also did the Federalists of 1800 ridicule the cause and commiserate the weakness of their opponents—until the rising surge of public indignation arose to sweep them from the Administration.

Passing, however, from these more lofty themes, let us come to the Inaugural, which the Intelligencer seems so anxious to defend from the criticism of the Address. It declares, that if it deals in generalities, it is not more remarkable in this respect, than the Inaugural Address of Thomas Jefferson—and it contends, that Gen. Harrison has but followed the usual "practice"—that as it was nothing but an Inaugural, it should have contained nothing but "an exposition of his understanding of the principles involved in the oath which he was about to take." Why call up the shade of the illustrious Jefferson upon this occasion? Had he been the successful candidate in 1841, as he was in 1801, does any one believe, that he would not have boldly displayed his principles during the canvass, as he had done in 1800?—Why should he have dilated in his Inaugural upon the "great practical questions" of the day—upon the "Alien and Sedition Laws, the Standing Army, the Direct Taxes, or the midnight judges?" His opinions were known throughout the whole campaign, too well to require any developments in his Inaugural. Not so with the Victor of 1841! He had buttoned up his opinions in his doublet—and therefore it more became him to speak out in his Inaugural. Jefferson's situation was not the same as Harrison's—and the character of his first Address was different from what the present President's ought to have been. But, when we sought information from Gen. Harrison, we did not obtain it.—His Inaugural corresponds with his previous course.—It is indeed "a tissue of vague generalities, presenting to the mind the fewest possible ideas," on the great practical measures of the day—and yet it is "replete with objectionable matter" upon some of the great principles of the Constitution.—The N. Intelligencer shews as little taste as candor, when it goes further, and compares together the styles of Jefferson's and of Harrison's Inaugurals. Instead of presenting any thing like a comparison, they furnish nothing but a contrast.

The fact is, no President ever ascended the Chair under such a cloud as Wm. H. Harrison. The principles of no candidate were ever so thoroughly *non-committal*, so little understood, so wretchedly equivocal and requiring so much explanation. He was neither fish, flesh nor fowl—or rather, he was represented fish to one quarter of the Union, and fowl to another. He is almost the only President, whose views of the great practical questions of the day stood in need of explanation. Every enlightened man, who was not a loyal partizan, called therefore for specifications in his Inaugural. They knew not for certain, though they strongly suspected from the tone of his politics at certain periods of his life, as well as his political associations, that his administration would be highly Federal—They called for specifications—for "spirits from the vasty deep," but they called in vain. The Old General still amuses us with flummeries and deals in vague generalities.—In all these respects he is remarkably, but with very little credit to himself—distinguished from all his Predecessors.

But let us come down to a later day than Mr. Jefferson's. If the National Intelligencer be so anxious to show that the present Inaugural is consistent with the practice of past Administrations, why did it not institute a more particular comparison with General Jackson's Inaugural? Why did it pass over entirely the similar production of his immediate predecessor, Martin Van Buren? True, *he* did not specify at any length, all the "practical questions" of the day—because, as he tells us himself, it would be "as obtrusive as it is probably unexpected. Before the suffrages of my countrymen were conferred upon me, (says he,) I submitted to them, with great precision, my opinions on the most prominent of all these subjects. Those opinions I shall endeavor to carry out with my utmost ability." He had long before expatiated upon the Tariff, the Bank, &c, &c. But not such was the precision with which General Harrison expressed his opinions. The country wanted light, but he would not give it.

Yet there is one subject on which the Intelligencer gabbles its "bald and disjointed chat," on which Mr. Van Buren thought it his duty to specify his course and pronounce his pledge. This was the dark question of Abolitionism—*now* become much darker since he delivered his Inaugural. The old General threatened to give the Abolitionists H—l; yet how has he done it? By not even *naming* in his whole Inaugural, *Abolition* or *Slavery*, lest, perhaps, he might "offend ears polite." But let us compare, in this respect, his Address and that of his "illustrious predecessor." The Charleston Mercury thus draws the parallel:

Extracts from Van Buren's Inaugural Address, of March 4, 1837, on Abolition.	*Extract from Harrison's Inaugural Address, of March 4, 1841, on a subject too delicate to be plainly dealt with.*
Perceiving before my election, the deep interest this subject was beginning to excite, I believed it a solemn duty, fully to make known my sentiments in regard to it; and now, when every motive for misrepresentation has passed away, I trust that they will be candidly weighed and understood. At least they will be my standard of conduct in the path before me. I then declared that if the desire of those of my countrymen who were favorable to my election was gratified, "I must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slaveholding States, and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists." * * * It now only remains to add, that no Bill conflicting with these views can ever receive my constitutional sanction.	The people of the District of Columbia are not the subjects of the people of the States, but free American citizens. Being in the latter condition when the Constitution was formed, no words used in that instrument could have been intended to deprive them of that character. If there is any thing in the great principles of unalienable rights so emphatically insisted upon in our Declaration of Independence, they could neither make, nor the U. S. accept a surrender of their liberties, and become the subjects, in other words, the slaves of their former fellow citizens. If this be true, and it will scarcely be denied by any one who has a correct idea of his own rights as an American citizen, the grant to Congress of exclusive jurisdiction in the District of Columbia, can be interpreted so far as respects the aggregate people of the U. S., as meaning nothing more than to allow to Congress the controlling power necessary to afford a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to the General Government by the Constitution. In all other respects, the legislation of Congress should be adapted to their peculiar position and wants, and be conformable with their deliberate opinions of their own interests. I have spoken of the necessity of keeping the respective departments of the Government, as well as all the other authorities of our country, within their appropriate orbits. This is a matter of difficulty in some cases, as the powers which they respectively claim are often not defined by very distinct lines. Mischievous, however, in their tendencies, as collisions of this kind may be, those which arise between the respective communities, which for certain purposes compose one nation, are much more so; for no such nation can long exist without the careful culture of those feelings of confidence and affection which are the effective bonds of union between free and confederated States. Strong as is the tie of interest, it has been often found ineffectual. Men, blinded by their passions, have been known to adopt measures for their country in direct opposition to all the suggestions of policy. The alternative, then, is to destroy or keep down a bad passion by creating and fostering a good one, and this seems to be the corner stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our Government. The cement which was to bind it, and perpetuate its existence, was the affectionate attachment between all its members. To insure the continuance of this feeling, produced at first by a community of dangers, of sufferings, and of interests, the advantages of each were made accessible to all. No participation in any good, possessed by any member of an extensive Confederacy, except in domestic Government, was withheld from the citizen of any other member. By a process attended with no difficulty, no delay, no expense but that of removal, the citizen of one might become the citizen of any other, and successively of the whole. The lines, too, separating powers to be exercised by the citizens of one State from those of another, seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each State unite in their persons all the privileges which that character confers, and all that they may claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same persons at the same time act as the citizens of two separate States, and he is therefore positively precluded from any interference with the reserved powers of any State but that of which he is, for the time being, a citizen. HE MAY INDEED OFFER TO THE CITIZENS OF OTHER STATES HIS ADVICE AS TO THEIR MANAGEMENT, AND THE FORM IN WHICH IT IS TENDERED IS LEFT TO HIS OWN DISCRETION AND SENSE OF PROPRIETY.

These quotations show, that the criticism of the National Intelligencer, upon the Address of the Republicans of the General Assembly, is unfounded. They show that there is "nothing in the tone and the tenor of the Inaugural, calculated entirely to remove our anxiety about the course of events."

We pass over the attempt to screen Mr. Granger's Abolition propensities under the example of Mr. Jefferson. The circumstances of the times were essentially different in his day from the present times. Fanaticism had not then reared her Gorgon head in our councils. She had not dared to threaten in any alarming degree the peace and the Institutions of the States. Can any one doubt, how under such circumstances he would act, if he were now dwelling among us? Can it be supposed, than any enlightened Virginian, seeing the dangers to which the Union is exposed by the Fanaticism of the Abolitionists, and the agitation of their designs in the National Councils, would now countenance the schemes of Slade, Garrison and Granger? Are we to understand that these agitators mean to persevere in their efforts to meddle with our domestic institutions, and cloak them under the example of Jefferson, who acted upon his own principles and under very different circumstances? We say, Granger, the official organ to the contrary notwithstanding! All the efforts of the National Intelligencer to palliate or disguise his conduct are unavailing. What! though it may produce his vote in favor of the resolution of May, 1836, declaring that Congress has no constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in any of the States, what becomes of his votes on the other resolutions about the District of Columbia—of his Correspondence with the Abolitionists in 1838—of his unqualified support of the right of petition, reference, report, discussion and agitation? It is stated, as the Address sets forth, that "His votes are recorded against all the measures adopted by Congress to stop the discussion on Abolition; and it seems to have been the great object of his ambition, to force the Abolition question on the House. As a candidate for Congress, he courted the support of the Abolition party—